1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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114 and Parja, and it is therefore easy first of all to describe their
161 distribution; only the briefest of general remarks will be made about them; I hope at a later date to publish a separate account, at least of the Parjas.

161 In the ethnographic map on page 40 the Bhattras are shown by the letter A and the Parjas by the letter B. The former
197 alone among the races of Bastar have abandoned whatever Munda or Dravidian tongue they may have once spoken, and now use a corrupt Uriya dialect. In Bastar, except for one or two villages at the south-east corner of the Kondagaon tahsil, the Bhattras are confined to the north-east corner of Jagdalpur, along the Jeypore border, across which they overflow in large numbers into Jeypore and, beyond, Kalahandi State. Their Bastar number in 1891 was 21,477. The use of their language is spreading to other tribes, chiefly the Parjas; it was spoken by 45,830 persons in 1931, which means that 9,219 non-Bhattras speak it. The spread of its use among the Parjas is shown by the fact that only 12,363 Parji-speakers were returned out of 17,568 Parjas. Actually, as Sir George Grierson has admitted, Bhattri might as well be classified as one of the many forms of Halbi as a dialect of Uriya; to the outward ear they sound very similar, and the two languages are mutually intelligible. Halbi always varies according to its proximity to Chhattisgarhi, Telugu or Gondi; and to me Bhattri seems only Halbi influenced by its proximity to Uriya-speaking tracts. Nor are local census enumerators by any means to be relied upon effectively to distinguish Halbi and Bhattri. Grierson's remark of Gondi dialects that the names indicate tribal rather than linguistic differences is true of Halbi and Bhattri at all events.

Bhattras and Parjas

● 105 The Bhattras live in open country with miles of good rice cultivation. They are gradually giving up even their very modified form of *dahya* or shifting cultivation, consisting now mainly of the occasional cutting and carting to their rice fields of forest undergrowth, and burning it there as manure. All but twenty-six of them were returned in 1931 as following their tribal religion; and this is really the correct account, though they are considerably more Hinduized than any other tribe classed as primitive in 1931 except the Halbas. The latter, whose religion preserves only slightly less of the tribal element than the Bhattra, are, however, in contrast, all but thirty-six recorded as Hindu. No anthropometric work has been done among the Bastar Bhattras; and there are no data for accepting or rejecting on physical grounds the Central Provinces habit of classifying them as a branch of the Gond race. Traditionally they came with the first Raja of Bastar from Warangal, while over

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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the border in Jeypore, according to the *Vizagapatam Gazetteer*, the '50,000 Bottadas' say they came from Bastar, and their Uriya dialect is called 'Bastari'. Many of them wear the sacred thread, the right to do so having been purchased in years past by their ancestors from the Raja of Bastar, whose State revenues used once to include regular receipts from such items. They have totemistic divisions, and social and religious customs not unlike those of the Koitor, but with certain marked differences. The tribe is becoming a Hindu caste, with sub-castes differentiated by the purity of their blood; the highest group, or 'Pit' Bhattras, distinguishes itself from the Amnait or Madhya group, on the ground that the Amnaits took women in marriage from other tribes, while the Amnaits similarly held themselves purer in blood than the San group. The Amnait has in the last thirty years gone farther than the Pit, and claims now to be a separate race, far superior to Bhattras. The San group is hardly distinguishable from the ordinary 'Murias' of Jagdalpur.

105●

Of the Bastar Parjas it has already been noted that they now call themselves Dhurwa and resent the designation Parja. The majority of them live in the south-east of the Jagdalpur tahsil, north and south of the Kanker Forest Reserve; there is a further group of them in the Kolab-Sabari valley in Sukma zamindari, between Sukma and the Jagdalpur border, extending at one point across the Kolab-Sabari. The northernmost Parjas are more advanced than those south of the Kanker Forest and below the plateau. In the Bhattra villages around Jagdalpur there are isolated families of Parjas, and a Parja designated the village Dhurwa is often the priest of the *Gaon Devi* or Village Mother goddess, besides having to arbitrate in boundary disputes; the indication is that the Parja is the original settler displaced later by Bhattras. So also at the ceremonies preceding the great *pargana* ceremonial hunts through the jungles near Darba, at the head of the pass descending from the Jagdalpur plateau into Sukma, though most of the villages attending are Bison-horn Maria villages, the *pujaris* who officiate at the altar of bows and arrows are Parjas. The Peng Parjas are said to have come with the first Raja from Warangal, but seem now to be confined to the Jeypore zamindari, though it must be remembered that Jeypore contains large tracts of Bastar *irredenta*. The Tugara Parjas mentioned by Glasfurd (para. 82) seem almost all to have left Bastar, though Rai Bahadur Panda Baijnath stated that there were some in Bastar twenty-eight years ago. Their language is described by Grierson as a local and very corrupt variation of Gondi, considerably mixed with Hindi forms. Yet it is an extremely difficult language, unintelligible to

[text continues on p. 41]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
A W32 Gond A W32

Bison-horn Maria and Muria neighbours, and seldom learnt even by those State officials who are excellent interpreters in other dialects; and I fancy that the Hindi admixture is considerably less in ordinary use than in the specimens collected for the Linguistic Survey. It is certainly untrue of Parji that the name indicates rather a tribal than a linguistic difference from Gondi proper. The most marked difference of customs is their style of dancing, which resembles that of the small remnant of the Munda tribe of Gadbas still surviving in two or three villages between them and the Bhattras; they dance in rollicking circles accompanied by their own whistling or by wooden flutes, in a manner reminiscent of certain figures of the 'Lancers', and as different as their dancing dress from the Bison-horn dances of their Maria neighbours, and pleasanter to see and hear than any other dances of Bastar except the Gadba.

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KEY TO PLATE IV

State or Provincial Boundary
Tribal Boundary .....
Roads, Forest
Tahsil Headquarters ■
Bhattras A
Halbas C
Marias, Abujhmar or Hill E
"Jhorias" or Murias probably once Hill Marias, now lowlanders G
Koitor of the riverain tract or Dorlas J

Tahsil or Zamindari Boundary
Roads, P.W.D.
Reserved Forests
Zamindari Headquarters A
Parjas B
Murias D
Marias, Bison-horn or Dandami F
Hill Marias influenced by Bison-horn Marias H
Mixed Dorla & Bison-horn Maria, or latter exposed to Telugu influence K

Mixed Dorla & Hill Maria, or Hill Maria who have almost become Dorla L

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162

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

●105

Gadbas

The Gadbas are not shown in the ethnographic map. Their three villages used to have the duty and privilege of supplying bearers for the Raja of Bastar's palanquin. They are gradually dying out; their numbers have fallen from 721 in 1901 to 398 in 1931, though the latter figure may be wrong, as 451 speakers of the Gadbi languages in Bastar were returned in 1931. This is probably the only Munda language spoken in Bastar. They are losing their distinctive dress, customs and language; usually the only villagers who remember it are the old women, and the census enumerators have almost certainly wrongly recorded most of them as speaking Gadbi merely because they are Gadbas. One cause of their decline is that some years back alien Hindus were made lessees of two of their three villages and proceeded to introduce non-Gadbas and to allot them Gadba land; the community was too small to offer the resistance made to similar processes by the larger primitive races of Bastar.

Halbas

The Halbas are shown by the letter C in the ethnographic map, scattered in small patches over most of north and central Bastar. I have above, in Chapter I, suggested as a reason for this distribution that they are the descendants of the old *paik* militia garrisons of the headquarter villages of the old *garhs*. Their Bastar number has risen from 13,865 in 1891 to 16,152 in 1931, while the steady growth of the use of their language as the *lingua franca* of Bastar is shown by the increase of the number of persons speaking Halbi as their mother tongue from 127,047 in 1911 to 171,293 in 1931, while 54,798 Gondi-speakers spoke Halbi as a secondary language. Of them it need only be observed here that the one point in which they most resemble their Maria and Muria neighbours is their worship of log-gods exactly similar in form to the tribal gods of the Abujhmar hills and elsewhere, consisting of parallel pairs of oiled and polished logs joined by cross-pieces and adorned with bunches of peacock feathers.

Murias—General

We come now to the remaining bulk of the Gondi-speaking people of Bastar, recorded in the census as Gonds, Koyas, Murias and Marias. Unfortunately none of these designations is scientific, and the figures published in the 1931 census as they stand are of little value to the ethnographer.

Whatever the derivation of the words Maria and Muria, they are not Gondi words. It has been suggested that Muria is formed from a word meaning root, the term meaning 'aboriginal', and that Maria means merely 'man of the woods'. Glasfurd (para. 80) describes the Murias of his time thus:—

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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'These people inhabit the more cultivated plains around Jugdulpore, and extend on the west from Nagatoka to the boundary of Jeypore, and from Seetapore to about thirty or forty miles north of the Indrawatty. They are skilful cultivators, their dress is a waist-cloth or lungotee, with but seldom any covering on the head; their villages are generally clean and comfortable; they have necklaces of red beads and small brass ear-rings; are active, hardy, and well behaved; they eat everything except the flesh of the cow, and keep great numbers of pigs.' 105

Nagatoka is a little west of Chitrakot falls; if the country east from there to the Jeypore border was then Muria, the Bhattras must have advanced westwards since then into most of their present habitat, or else many who are now San Bhattras were then considered to be Murias. The northward extension thirty or forty miles beyond the Indrawati takes us roughly speaking to the line from Kondagaon east to Amrati in the Makri Forest Reserve, in which there were then several villages. The southward extension to Chitapur (Seetapore) comes practically to the spot where the ethnographic map shows Murias as now beginning south-west of Jagdalpur.

Jagdalpur Murias

The Murias of this tract are very different in various ways from those of Kondagaon and Antagarh tahsils, to whom they consider themselves superior; they say they do not intermarry with them, though this is certainly untrue along the Kondagaon-Jagdalpur border. In Jagdalpur tahsil the Murias have been very exposed to foreign influence, living close to the capital of the State and the Jeypore border; the *parganas* near Jagdalpur itself have had hereditary domestic duties to perform at the palace, and have far more villages leased to foreigners than other parts of Bastar; in the whole tahsil the proportion of persons no longer speaking Gondi as their mother-tongue is higher than elsewhere in the State. Their dancing and music are more akin to those of the Parjas and Bhattras. The signs of totemistic organization are weaker, and the old rules of exogamy are breaking down. Whether or not the Jagdalpur Murias are distinct racially from those of the north it is difficult to say; there is not much apparent physical difference, save in so far as the Muria of the thickly populated open tracts of the 'Padar Raj', as the open country round Jagdalpur is often called, is weedier than the Muria of the north and the Marias of the Abujhmar and Dantewara. Those who no longer speak a dialect of Gondi may easily be descended from Parjas, San Bhattras, or Bison-horn Marias, or from the Murias of the north according to their geographical position, and have lost their distinctive cultural features through being fused together in the detribalizing melting-pot of Jagdalpur; but there may be a substantial 'Muria' nucleus representing an

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

105 earlier wave of migration southwards than that which peopled north Kondagaon and Antagarh. It is noticeable that in the Jagdalpur country you do not find the *gotul* or boys' (sometimes boys' and girls') dormitory organization that is so distinctive a feature of Kondagaon and Antagarh. It will be seen later that this exists only in embryo in the Abujhmar mountains except at their northernmost extension, and is altogether absent among the Bison-horn Marias and the Koyas of the south. It is tempting to suggest that as the Jhorias of Antagarh tahsil represent Marias who have descended from the Abujhmar mountains, so the Jagdalpur Murias are civilized Bison-horn Marias; but the latter are very distinct from the Jagdalpur Murias, and indeed to some extent antagonistic to them; for the religious or social occasions on which they have to provide a feast of beef they will engage the village thief and send him to steal a cow or calf from the nearest Muria village. A Muria considers himself in Jagdalpur superior to the beef-eating Bison-horn Maria, and does not intermarry.

Jhoria Murias

Coming then to the Murias of Kondagaon and Antagarh, the term as now used for all non-Maria Koitor has again to be condemned as unscientific. Glasfurd rightly excluded from it those whom he described as 'Jhoorias', of whom he says (para. 86):—

'The Jhoorias are found principally in the north-western parts about Narayenpoor and Purtabpore, and extend towards Kakeir (Kanker); they are a numerous class, and subsist partly by cultivation and partly by hunting, and on the fruits of the forest. Their dress resembles that of the following caste, the Marias, with whom they may be said to constitute about a third or more of the population of the Bustar Dependency, and whom they resemble in customs and appearance.'

By Marias he meant primarily those whom this book terms the Bison-horn Marias, from whom he rightly distinguished the Marias of the Abujhmar mountains, whom he designated 'Marees'. His remarks on the Jhorias are fairly true if it is borne in mind that it is the Abujhmar Marias whom they resemble, not the Bison-horn, and that he is wrong in extending their country to include north Antagarh around Partabpur as well as the country round Narainpur. The name Jhorias is not now ordinarily used in conversation, since all Koitor in Bastar who have raised themselves socially above the Maria standard nowadays call themselves Murias. Here it is revived as a convenient term for that very distinct type of 'Muria' living around Narainpur and Benur, and the lower valley of the Gudra from a little north of Chhota Dongar to the Indrawati. It strictly speaking applies to the inhabitants of the *parganas* of

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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Jhorian and Ghat Jhorian (see the *pargana* map of Antagarh tahsil at p. 33); but almost all of Ghat Jhorian was depopulated when the bulk of the *pargana* was included in the Matla Forest Reserve. I should now define as Jhoria Murias or Jhorias the Koitor inhabiting the south of the Kolur *pargana*, the Ghat Jhorian, Jhorian, Baragaon, Narainpur, Dugal, Kurangal and Benur *parganas*, the plains villages of the Chhota Dongar *pargana* of Antagarh, and the Mardapal *pargana* of Kondagaon, which lies to the east of the Chhota Dongar *pargana*. On the ethnographic map all Murias have been shown by the letter D, and the Jhorias by the letter G; in my view the Jhorias are really Marias who have descended from the hills and come into contact with Koitor from the north, the 'Murias' of northern Bastar. There is very little in the outward appearance of the Jhorias to distinguish them from the Hill Marias; their fashions in beads and other ornaments, their coiffures, their physical features, are all similar. They have clans and clan-gods similar to the Hill Marias; the clans have often their own definite territory, the Dugal and Kurangal *parganas* for example being the lands of the Dugalor and the Kurangalor clans; their *pandum* or festivals correspond to those of the Abujhmar; they erect *kotokal* or monoliths to their dead. The northern Jhorias have now learned to dance in 'Muria' style; but to the south and especially in the Mardapal *pargana* of Kondagaon they dance in the traditional *pata-ondanna* or 'song-and-dance' style of the Abujhmar, and the dancers are somewhat overdressed in the typical Abujhmar way, with flowing draperies, dancing hats ('*topi*') ornamented with the feathers of the peacock, racket-tailed drongo (*Dissemurus paradiseus*) or other birds, dancing shields (*moghi*) with plumes of peacock feathers and streamers of cloth, and bunches of bells slung over the buttocks of the dancers, though without the strips of cloth tied rib-fashion over the torso till very recently characteristic of the Abujhmar. On the other hand, they[1] have in their villages the full *gotul* or dormitory organization of northern Murias, though they deny that girls share the dormitories with boys as around Kondagaon, and their agriculture is far more advanced than that of the Hill Marias, in that they have ploughs and permanent fields. The Dugalor and Kurangalor clans do indeed admit that some of the hill clans are their *dalabhai* or brother-clans, and that some are their *akomama* or clans with which they may intermarry; but such intermarriage practically never occurs, owing to the distance of the hill villages from those of the lowlands.

[1] I am not sure whether this applies to the Mardapal *pargana* and the adjacent part of the Chhota Dongar *pargana*.

[See ref. 116, p. 418.—Ed.]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

●105 The remaining 'Murias' are those of the Paralkot-Kalpatti, Bandadesh, Kirangal, Kalpatti, Surebahi, Bhomra, Antagarh and Amabera *parganas* and the larger part of the Kolar *pargana* of Antagarh tahsil, and of all Kondagaon tahsil except the Mardapal *pargana* and that portion between Kondagaon and the Jagdalpur border already mentioned as peopled by Koitor of the Jagdalpur Muria type. All these Murias have traditions of migration into Bastar from the north, from the ancient kingdom of Dhamda, on the downfall of which their god Bhera Pen (Hinduized, Budha Deo) led them in safety from the modern Raipur district into Bastar; the latter story is told in Kondagaon tahsil, but I have not heard it in Antagarh, though Antagarh certainly knows Bhera Pen, the ordinary Great God[1] of the Gonds throughout the British districts of the Central Provinces. In the Amabera *pargana* alone in Bastar is recorded the knowledge of the great Lingo epic of the Gond race, from the Bastar version of which certain extracts were printed by Russell and Hiralal (Vol. III, pp. 49, 61-2). It is likely that north Kondagaon, Amabera, and north Antagarh represent separate streams of migration, and that north Antagarh contains a larger strain of the previous inhabitants, very likely the same stock as that now living in the Abujhmar hills. The Koitor inhabitants of the Kanker State that borders Antagarh and Kondagaon tahsils on the north, though called Gonds in the 1931 census report, are of exactly the same kind, intermarrying still with their Bastar Muria neighbours, and often called Murias by Hindu residents of Kanker; thus it is observed in para. 76 of the *Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetteer*:—

Gotul Murias, or Murias of north Kondagaon and Antagarh

> 'The aboriginal population live in much the same style and have much the same customs as the aborigines of the adjoining State of Bastar, but it is said that they are gradually coming into line with their Hindu neighbours and abandoning their old beliefs. At present, however, in the more remote villages the Gonds adhere to the worship of godlings and to their old social customs. The girls and boys have their separate sleeping barracks outside the village, and meet near them nightly to play and dance and sing.'

Nearly all of the 80,003 Gonds returned from Kanker State at the 1931 census must be of the same stock as the Murias of north Bastar.

If any particular feature is to be singled out as the distinguishing mark of this 'Muria' group of the Koitor of north Bastar and Kanker, it must be their *gotul* system for the training of the young. The *gotul* is much the same as the Bachelors' House found in

[176] [1] Even in British districts I believe the *Bhera Pen* to be merely the 3-, 4-, 5-, 6- or 7-fold god of the clan as distinct from the 3, 4–8, 6 or 7 *Chuddur Pens* or small gods kept by each family.

[See cat. 116, p. 418. - Russell]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Indonesia and, in India, among the Oraons and others in Chhota Nagpur and among the Nagas of Assam. In Bastár the Murias and Jhorias of Antagarh have sleeping dormitories for boys only, and repudiate with heat any suggestion that boys and girls share the same dormitory, as is the case among the Murias of north Kondagaon.[1] Nevertheless, the girls assemble every evening by the boys' *gotul*, to join in song, dance and games, and not infrequently in sexual games, and, like the boys, have *gotul* names and ranks some of which involve special duties and responsibilities. The elder boys and girls are almost prefects, charged with the duty of teaching the young the elements of the tribal culture, while all the youth have certain definite fagging to do for the whole village. The Marias of the Abujhmar have a *gotul* in every village, but it is little more than a real dormitory where all unmarried males over the age of ten or so sleep; and, except in the Padalbhum *pargana* and portions of adjacent Maria country abutting on the plain of north-western Antagarh, the distinctive and specialized *gotul* system of training for the young of both sexes is absent. It seems almost completely absent among the Bison-horn Marias and Koyas of Bastar. Lucie-Smith does not mention it in the account of the Marias and other Gonds of Chanda district in the 1869 Settlement Report (one of the indications that the 'Marias' described by him were Koitor of the plains and foot-hills of the Ahiri and other zamindaris, not the Hill Marias of the portion of the Abujhmar mountains that overflows into south-east Chanda). It is only briefly mentioned by Russell and Hiralal in para. 71 of their article 'Gond', where it is said that 'many Gond villages in Chhattisgarh and the Feudatory States' have these '*gotalghar*' (*sic*). There is no definite record of the distribution of the *gotul* outside Bastar in the Central Provinces and the old Central Provinces States. In the *States Gazetteer* it is recorded only in Bastar and Kanker States among the 'Gonds'. I doubt whether it exists anywhere among the Gonds[1] of the Satpura mountains and other parts of the Central Provinces, including Chhattisgarh. It is a possible indication of the existence among these Muria, Jhoria and Hill Maria Koitor of Antagarh and Kondagaon Tahsils who now speak dialects of Dravidian Gondi of a strong element of pre-Dravidian or Austro-Asiatic culture; but it is contrary to expectation, if this be the case, that the *gotul* exists in embryo only among the very primitive Hill

[1] Enquiry among the Gonds along the Nagpur-Chhindwara border showed no sign of anything resembling a *gotul*; I was told, however, by an intelligent Gond that he had heard many years ago that some such thing existed somewhere beyond Deogarh in Chhindwara District. This is unverified. There is no mention of the *gotul* in any published grammars and vocabularies of Central Provinces Gondi dialects.

[see cat. 116, p. 418. - Ed.]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

105 Marias but fully developed among the comparatively advanced Murias and Jhorias of Antagarh and Kondagaon. I propose to refer to these northern Murias as the Gotul Murias, though it must be remembered that the *gotul* system is equally strong among the Jhorias.

Physically the Gotul Murias conform more to the standard type of Central Provinces Gond than any other Koitor in Bastar; they are short in stature, but well-proportioned, with roundish heads, flat noses, distended nostrils, ugly features, straight black hair and scanty beard and moustache. Eickstedt measured several Murias at Kondagaon in January 1929 and, I gather, found little difference between them and the Hill Marias whom he measured at Handawada on the Indrawati edge of the Abujhmar hills; the Hill Marias are generally in better physical condition, apart from the ravages of yaws and the prevalence of hydrocele, than Gotul or Jagdalpur Murias. So, too, Ramesh Chandra Roy in measuring Hill and Bison-horn Marias during my March 1933 expedition found little physical difference. Yet after living in Bastar for a time one is soon able to distinguish between a Muria and a Hill or Bison-horn Maria, by something in their facial appearance, not merely by differences of dress, though one will often confuse a Hill Maria and a Jhoria. The Maria of both types has a proportion of almost leptorrhine faces and of skins pale copper in hue, while heights of 5 ft. 9 in. are not unknown among them.[1]

Murias—Summary

To summarize the account of the so-called Murias before proceeding to discuss the Marias and Koyas, they fall into three main groups, the Jagdalpur Murias of the Jagdalpur tahsil and the south of Kondagaon tahsil; the Jhoria Murias of the foot-hills of the Abujhmar mountains in south-west Kondagaon and in Antagarh tahsils; and the Gotul Murias of north Antagarh and most of Kondagaon. These divisions are roughly endogamous, though not now recognized

[1] Cf. Hutton, India Census Report, 1931, p. 446:—'The vague suggestion of the mongoloid, which is so often given by the appearance of the hillmen of Chhota Nagpur, of Bastar State in the Central Provinces and of the Madras Agency Tracts, may be due to a strain of Pareoean blood which hascome in by sea from the coast. One is insistently reminded in these areas of the Assam hill tribes, and both Haddon and Buxton have drawn attention to this strain, which struck the present writer quite independently and contrary to his expectations; and the admitted proto-australoid element in these tribes is no obstacle to this, since it must have extended at some period throughout what is now the archipelago to the Australian mainland, apart from the probability of its absorption on the mainland. Haddon says (*Races of Man*, p. 108), "there is something in the facial appearance of many Kolarians which enables an observer to pick out a typical inhabitant of Chhota Nagpur from a crowd of southern Dravidians, and among some (Munda, etc.) there is often a reminiscence of Mongoloid traits", and the truth of this is incontestable.'

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

by separate vernacular designations. The Jagdalpur group is detribalized by palace contacts and the proximity of Halbi and Uriya speaking elements both in Bastar and in Jeypore.[1] The Jhoria group are probably Hill Marias settled in the plains. The Gotul Murias have definite traditions of immigration from Raipur and the north. 'Muria' is a term coined by non-Koitor for those Koitor who are somewhat less un-Hinduized than the primitive Marias, and is used by any section of Marias as soon as it wishes to claim social advancement. The Bastar official applies it not only to the three sections of Murias classified above, but also to the Koyas and some of the Dorla Koyas of the south, and to the more advanced Bison-horn Marias of Dantewara and Bijapur. The census figures of Murias therefore contain various Koitor from Kutru and Bhopalpatnam zamindaris and from Konta and Bijapur tahsils who should have been enumerated as Koyas or Marias.

On the latter account perhaps about 15,000 should be deducted from the census total of 124,993 Bastar Murias, leaving a round figure of 110,000. About 32,000 of these are Jagdalpur Murias, 17,000 Jhorias and 61,000 Gotul Murias. These are very approximate figures, roughly calculated from the total populations of the different charges into which each tahsil or zamindari was divided for census purposes.

The Marias—General

It has more than once been indicated in the preceding pages that I divide the so-called Marias into two divisions, the Hill Marias of the Abujhmar mountains, and the Bison-horn Marias. The former call their land Metabhum or 'Highlands', and call themselves (and are called by their neighbours on the plains and plateaux of Antagarh, Kondagaon, Jagdalpur, Dantewara and Bijapur) Meta Koitor, the Highland Koitor. To avoid confusion in the mind of any later investigator, it should be observed that this name is also given to themselves by the Bison-horn Marias living on the high edges of the Jagdalpur and the Dantewara tahsils in contrast to their brethren below in Dantewara or Sukma and Sukma or Konta respectively. If, however, a native name is needed for the Marias of the Abujhmar mountains, Meta Koitor could well be adopted; the general level of their villages is far higher than that of any other villages in Bastar. Hill Marias, however, is the term which I shall use, the word Maria being now familiar in ethnographic literature. By the Hill Maria the men of the plains, be they Muria, Jhoria or Bison-horn Maria, are called Dor Koitor, Hatiya Koitor or Kalpatti

[1] Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao in an article on the Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts, India, published in *Anthropos*, 1907, says that the Gonds of parts of Jeypore are known as Murias.